1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

as well as the Chaco tribes of the Guaikurú group, like the Choroti, wear these garments as war shirts.[1] In all the tribes just referred to (and the Ashluslay and Mataco as well), such shirts are worn exclusively by the men. The Caraguatá shirt here reproduced is knitted very tightly and closely (fig. 37), and, although its length is only 56 cm, exclusive of the shoulder straps, it weighs as much as 1.4 kg. The stripes that are worked in by way of ornamentation, have been formed by using string dyed black, and string dyed brown, alternately, in knitting. The parts that are between the stripes consist of undyed fibre. At the bottom edge of the shirt, small pieces of red and yellowish brown cloth have been tacked on; these originate from the whites.

Fig. 35. Child's poncho (a boy's) of wool, with woven ornaments. Ground colour brownish-red; ornament yellowish-grey. Choróti (probably manufactured among some other tribe). Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 4.

These mail shirts of caraguatá-fibre string are exceedingly well manufactured, and undoubtedly form a good protection against the Chaco Indians' arrows, which are usually wooden-pointed. Arrows with rod-shaped, iron wire points, or with leaf-like, edged, iron heads, on the other hand, would probably pierce even the thickest and most closely knitted caraguatá shirt. The shoulder straps in these mail shirts are knitted considerably thinner and less closely than the rest of the shirt, and this is only natural, as the function of the straps is to suspend the shirt, and not to give protection against arrows. Besides, they could only be hit by arrows dipping at an angle from above.

[1] Krickeberg (1), p. 131.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

and 40). Miss Agnes Branting, who has kindly examined the textiles here reproduced, found the frontlet in fig. 40 especially interesting, as similar fillets are woven by the peasantry in very many provinces of Sweden, for instance Scania, Halland, Wermland and Helsingland. Miss Branting writes on this matter as follows: »Fillets of this kind are made without any other implement than just any sort of object to which the yarn can be attached, say a weighted pincushion held on the knee. The weaving is begun from the centre of the fillet by crossing one yarn over another; for each turn a yarn is added (from a number fastened with pins) on either side. When the edge yarn has been reached, this is turned inwards, and the plaiting then proceeds from the edges towards the centre. This gives a certain firmness and compactness to the edges, and makes the middle portion slightly thinner, as may be noticed if looked at against the light.»[1]

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Fig. 38. Legging, of deer-skin with yellowish-brown hair-covering remaining. Worn for protection against thorny plants. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Rikssm. 03. 3. 383.

Sometimes the frontlets are decorated with snail-shell spangles, sewn on, although such pieces of magnificence as the frontlet here shown in fig. 41 are very rare. From fig. 42 can be seen the way this frontlet is meant to be worn. These very decorative snail-shell spangles are made from the shells of a large, white land snail (Borus oblongus, fig. 43), common in the Chaco. The Choroti do not themselves make these snail-shell spangles, but obtain them through barter from other tribes.

Narrow frontlets of woollen yarn (see fig. 30: the 3rd and 4th men from the left) or birdskin (see figs. 17 and 30: the boy who is fifth from the left) are of very common occurrence; less frequently seen are frontlets made from palm leaves, some of which are provided with chin straps, so as not to slip easily off the head (fig. 44).

At dances and other festive occasions, the men are fond of wearing particularly handsome, broad frontlets or head ornaments of stiff or downy

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[1] Compare with this a method of hand weaving described from the Choroti by Erland Nordenskiöld. Nordenskiöld (13), p. 111.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

kind, the total length of which may amount to as much as 15 metres. Thus, for instance, the ornamental outfit seen in fig. 56 consists of two necklaces, respectively 4.39 and 4.61 metres long.

Necklaces of mussel- or snail-shells of the shape shown in fig. 57 and 58 are also popular. The necklace, fig. 57, consists of 15 spangles made from shells of the common river mussel of the Chaco. The spangles, which are only slightly more than one millimetre thick, are chipped or ground into more or less circular shape, and in, or near, their centre have a perforation right through. Through these holes a string is threaded, so as to keep the spangles fixed in the way shown in the picture. On the reverse sides the spangles retain the rough, greenish brown surface of the mussel-shell; their front sides display the mother of pearl lustre peculiar to the inner side of mussel-shells. In each spangle the front face is pitted with 4 to 5 shallow borings, which either have a magical significance, or may be only designed to enhance the decorativeness of the necklace.

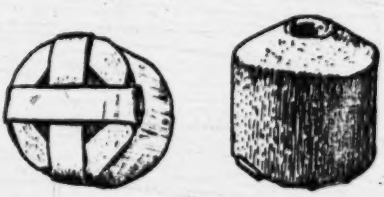

Fig. 54. Ear lobe discs, of wood with tin mountings. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 57.

Fig. 55. Ear lobe disc of wood, bored right through. On its cylindrical surface ornament has been burned in. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 56.

The tags on the necklace shown in fig. 58 consist of rectangular slabs of mussel- or snail-shells. These slabs, which have been very neatly chipped into shape, possess on their front sides a beautiful mother-of-pearl lustre, although they are not of such high opalescence as the spangles in the necklace, fig. 57. The front side of each tag has 3 to 5 shallow borings, the hinder side is bone white. Necklaces of this kind, with quadrilateral tags of mussel- or snail-shell, are specially characteristic of the Chaco.[1]

The Choroti have acquired glass beads from the Europeans, but such beads are far less valued than spangles or the thin plates of snail- or mussel-shells.

[1] Krickeberg (1), p. 132.

304 pattern with the cactus needles, or bone awl, until beads of blood appear, when the soot-mingled saliva is rubbed into the punctures. After healing, the tattoo marks assume a bluish colour.

302 At dances, lovers' meetings, and other important occasions, men and women paint their faces (figs. 62, 67—70 and 74—76). Face-painting may be done either in red (figs. 67—68 and 74—76) or in black (fig.

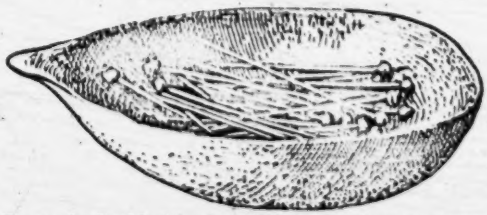

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Fig. 77. Small calabash bowl containing cactus spines for tattooing. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 87.

Fig. 78. Red paint, ready prepared for face-painting. This lump of paint, which is wrapped in a sheath of palm leaf, may possibly have reached the Choroti by barter from the Chiriguano. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 104.

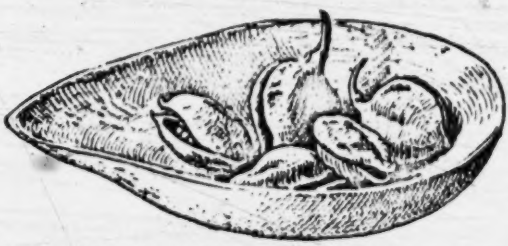

Fig. 79. Small calabash bowl containing fruits of Bixa orellana. From the seeds of these fruits colour is prepared for face-painting. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 103.

Fig. 80. Miniature bowl of wood, holding colour seeds. The bowl and the seeds have possibly been obtained by the Choroti through barter with the Chiriguano. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 180.

69), or in both red and black (fig. 70). Painting the face in red is commonest. The black paint consists of soot and saliva, whilst the red colour (fig. 78) is prepared from seeds of Bixa Orellana (fig. 79). These seeds are usually obtained by barter from the Chiriguano, and are carefully kept by the Choroti in small calabashes. I have also seen miniature wooden bowls (fig. 80) used as receptacles for these colouring seeds after they have been taken out of the follicle.[1] The soot is usually kept in a

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[1] Owing to a mistake having occurred as to the identity of seeds, in my first treatise on the Choroti I have erroneously stated that the red paint used in face-painting is made from the seeds of Caesalpina melanocarpa.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

Apart from split-cane combs, the Choroti also have wooden combs, 302
carved in one piece (figs. 86 and 87). It is probable that formerly the Choroti did not themselves make as well-made combs as the one reproduced in fig. 87, as, until quite lately, the Chaco peoples have been without good cutting implements of stone or metal. Among the considerably higher cultured Chiriguano, who, for a certainty, have long possessed metal tools, carefully worked wooden combs are very common. It is therefore possible that the neat-looking comb shown in fig. 87 was made among the Chiriguano, although it may subsequently have reached [439]
the Choroti through barter. As I have previously pointed out, there are certain toilet articles, viz., colour seeds and ready-prepared red paint, of which the Chiriguano dispose to the Indians of the Chaco. The Choroti keep their toilet articles, not only in bowls and boxes of calabash, but also in miniature bags of caraguatá (fig. 88).

On account of the dearth of water that periodically recurs on the 515
Chaco, the mere nature of their country makes it impossible for many of the Choroti to observe the same bodily cleanliness as the Chiriguano. But even if the Choroti were well off as regards water supply, I do not believe that they would to any appreciably greater extent indulge in any bathing or washing *intended for the better care of the body*. For, it must be said, the Choroti do not possess anything like the Chiriguano's sense of cleanliness.

Nordenskiöld, who has had opportunities of studying the Choroti Indians on the Pilcomayo, where of course they had plenty of water, writes as regards their lack of cleanliness, inter alia, as follows: »Never did I see an Ashluslay washing his clothes, nor any Choroti, unless they had learnt it from the whites. And to bathe, just for the sake of bathing, is a thing these Indians would only do, I should think, when the weather is really hot. Fishing, however, of necessity takes the men a great deal into the water. The children often play about in the water, too, which makes for keeping them clean. And the 'wee-wee ones' get washed by their mothers when the latter go down to the river.»[1]

»Caring for the body», among the Choroti, is mainly limited to de- 515
corating the face by painting, combing the hair, picking out lice, and 302
pulling out all hairs on the face and about the private parts. Painting,

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 78.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

361 166 gards the Choroti, he, on Karsten's authority, mentions the interesting fact that these Indians sometimes are compelled to make a change of dwelling-site only on account of the appearance of excessive swarms of noxious insects (principally locusts).[1]

484 464 It is only in later times that the Choroti to any greater extent have come in to work on white men's sugar plantations. These plantations are mostly situated in Argentine territory, and therefore the Indians often have to make journeys of several weeks, in going to, or returning from, their place of work. Such Indians as go to the plantations only work for a few months for the whites, and then return to their own locations, there to spend the rest of the year in the wilds of the Chaco. Whilst at the plantations, they live in Indian villages they build for themselves, and in many ways carry on their primitive life.

166 I will also mention two other reasons for migration; now, however, only seldom obtaining among the Choroti, viz., fear of other Indian tribes and of reprisals for misdeeds committed against the whites. Concerning the latter cause for migration, I have already mentioned that a part of the Choroti tribe disappeared into the interior of the Chaco, after having in some way transgressed against white people who had settled in their country.

439 The Choroti Indians also engage in trading, and their chief article of barter is dried fish. In the Pilcomayo they are able to catch more fish than are required for their own consumption, and they therefore dry the surplus and take it to other parts, inhabited by Chiriguano and Chané, where fish is less plentiful. These latter Indians buy the fish by giving in exchange maize, red colouring-stuff (for face-painting) and other articles. Nowadays the Choroti also obtain iron, clothing, and other wares, by trading with the whites at the sugar plantations.

The snail-shell spangles that have been described in the foregoing are an important article of trade in the Chaco. The Choroti, according to their own stating, obtain spangles — separate, as well as strung into ready-made necklaces — from tribes living in the eastern Chaco. On Rio Parapiti Nordenskiöld has seen spangles of this kind among the Tapiete Indians, who told him they had got them by barter from the Ashluslay, and the latter that they, in their turn, had obtained them

[1] Nimuendajú (1), p. 33.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

from a tribe they called Manslé, said to be living in the neighbourhood of Rio Paraguay.[1] Thus the spangles of which the Tapiete were in possession had, by way of trade between the tribes, been transported *at least* 360 miles from the place where they had been made.

Among the Choroti, the long spangle necklaces (as seen in fig. 56) served them as a kind of currency. So, for instance, the value of an Indian woollen mantle was expressed in a certain number of arm-lengths of such a necklace, and that of a head of cattle in some other, definite, number of arm-lengths. In gambling, the stake often consisted of snail-shell spangles or whole necklaces.

There were also other objects which formed articles of trade between the Indians. On page 81 I have mentioned a wooden comb which probably originates from the Chiriguano, and on page 78 I have reproduced a small wooden bowl containing colouring seeds that have probably come from the same tribe. The child's poncho, fig. 35, has probably been bought by some Choroti from an Ashluslay; it is also possible that a few other objects in my collection have found their way to the Choroti Indians through barter with neighbouring tribes.

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 127.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

283 Chaco, a circumstance I have pointed out in the foregoing. At its thickest part, the diameter of the spindle should be somewhat larger than the diameter of the hole through the whorl. The thinner end of the spindle is passed through this hole, and the whorl is then slid downwards until it gets fixed on account of the thickness of the spindle (see fig. 143). If the hole has happened to have been made too large, so that the whorl would slip off, the thickness of the spindle immediately below the whorl is increased by the application of a heavily waxed binding (see fig. 142).

Fig. 144. Knife-like weaving implement (batten) of hard wood Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 4/0. Riksm. 10. 3. 91.

286 Personally I have not seen the Choroti do any weaving, but from this tribe Nordenskiöld has described a very primitive method of fillet weaving: »For a loom, the woman used her own body; the fillet she was weaving was fastened to her big toe, and her hand she used as a batten. In this way she was weaving. the fillet without using any other implement than her extremities.»[1]

For all that, the Chorotis do possess weaving implements, which, among other things, is evident from the weaving batten reproduced in fig. 144. It is carved in one piece out of some hard, heavy wood. The transverse section of the handle is oval, and the blade has two rounded edges.

283 The Choroti make excellent ropes of bast (fig. 145), by twining. One such rope, which I bartered off them, is 11.74 metres in length. At one end of it there is a running noose, and it has probably been used as a lasso.

412 439 At the time when I visited the Chaco, iron was still of such rarity that it was but seldom I saw an iron knife among the Choroti. We had brought with us, as articles for bartering, long, Argentine knives, and with them the Indians were highly delighted. These knives were not used by the Choroti for carving wood with, but principally as carving instruments in cutting up meat.

412 The Choroti knife, which is reproduced in fig. 146, is a very primitive tool, with a one-edged blade, about 1.5 mm thick, of untempered sheet-iron. The upper part of the blade is wedged into a partly cleft wooden handle, which is covered

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 111.

Q [should be Choroti. -Analyst]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

»When the old men have felt themselves properly tuned up, then they have painted my face black with soot and spittle. They have wanted to pull out my eyebrows and eyelashes, and they have laughed my long and ugly beard to scorn, and they have wanted to bore through my ears.

»All during these drinking carousals, when everybody was drunk, I have never heard a hard word spoken; never noticed the slightest quarrel arising. When the Indian is full of his home-brewed beer, he is not pleasant, but he does not get insolent; he belongs to the type of drunkard who wants to embrace everybody, and in whom the manifestations of friendliness become unpleasantly exaggerated. He gets blatantly valiant, and shouts about warlike deeds. He discusses plans of campaigns, but has forgotten all about it when he is sober again. He sings and he is happy.»[1]

The Choroti Indians are inveterate smokers. As the tobacco which these Indians grow and prepare is of a very inferior quality, they are keen on bartering tobacco off the whites. Frequently the Choroti mix their tobacco with shavings of an aromatic tree bark.[2]

Tobacco pipes consist of pieces of bamboo, fig. 153, or wood, figs. 154—161. The latter are straight, that is to say, the longitudinal axis of the tobacco retainer is in a straight line with the longitudinal axis of the stem.[3] The pipes of bamboo are straight, or of a slightly curving bend, fig. 153. Choroti pipes are as a rule made in one piece, figs. 153—161, but composite pipes (pipes with the stem fitted into the bowl) do occur, although they are exceedingly rare.[4]

The pipes have in the forward end, as a rule, a funnel-shaped depression in which the tobacco is stuffed (the tobacco retainer). From the bottom of the funnel the smoke passes through a channel, the diameter of which is only a couple of millimetres in the part nearest the tobacco retainer but usually widens towards the opening of the mouthpiece (see sections, figs. 153—161). In pipes with a wide mouthpiece opening, the latter as a rule is provided with a vegetable fibre filter, which cleanses

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 89, 91 and 92.

[2] As to Indian conceptions of intoxicating beverages, tobacco and other narcotics, see for example Karsten (6), pp. 28—72.

[3] The Ashluslay, neighbours of the Choroti, possess both straight and angle-bent pipes. In the Ashluslay pipes of the latter kind the longitudinal axis of the tobacco retainer and that of the stem form an angle of about 90 degrees. Nordenskiöld (13), figs. 41—43.

[4] A composite pipe from the Choroti is reproduced and described by Nordenskiöld (21), fig. 8.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

A C 412 are their knives, saws or scrapers and awls of very hard wood. The knives (fig. 12) are used, for instance, for cutting up fish and fruit, the saws for cutting off caraguatá boughs and for grating the «Mandioca del campo» (manioc). Such tools of wood are unknown among now living Indians, save in the Chaco. Occasionally flat bone knives are seen. I have seen them among the Tapiete and the Atsahuaca, as well as among the Choroti, and the Ashluslay. The wooden tools were originally made in this way: when there had been a

Fig. 13. Iron Knife, Choroti. G. M. (D. 1027) 1/2.

Fig. 12. Wooden Knife. Choroti G. M. (D. 1025) 1/2.

forest fire, suitable pieces of wood were selected, which were then shaped by means of the fire and pieces of shell. They are now cut by knives obtained from the whites.

A C [439] By their migrations to the sugar factories in the Argentine, the Chaco Indians have obtained many iron tools. Where iron is still rare, all the pieces of iron are preserved that can be utilized. In Fig. 13 is shown a piece of iron used as a knife, it having received a shape similar to that of the original wooden knives.

The *wooden knives*, as we have seen, are of a square shape. This shape may possibly not have originated in the Chaco. I have found similar stone knives (Fig. 14) in my excavations

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

M 574

remain silent, perhaps muttering some menacing words. This is particularly the way in which the Tobas receive undesired guests. The best thing for a visitor so received is to leave the Indians as soon as possible, since these treacherous and daring savages would not shrink from taking his life.

C 576

When the Choroti guest leaves the house where he has paid a visit he always says: *yápeh*, or: *ayápeh*, »I go», or »I go back (to my own house)», to which the host only answers: *mah*, »go on!», »hurry on!». The Toba guest, on leaving, says *malhék*, or *kíuo* or *málhe'giuo*, (»I go», »I go back to my house»), the host answering with the word *hamóh* (»hurry on!»).

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The *Choroti* barter with those foreign tribes with whom they maintain friendly intercourse, their own most important article of exchange being dried fish. From the Guarani-speaking Tapiete Indians, and in some cases from the Avas, they receive especially the much appreciated cereal, maize, as well as the red *urucú*-paint, indispensable for painting the face and the body on festival occasions. The *urucú*-shrub, it should be noted, requires a purely tropical climate and does not grow in the Chaco. On the other hand the Choroti barter with the Ashluslay in the south, receiving from them among other things one of their most costly ornaments, a necklace consisting of small buttons cut out from snail's shells and strung closely together. Such a necklace is from three to six yards in length, and is highly valued not only as a pure ornament but also on account of the magical properties ascribed to it. The receiving of these necklaces from the Ashluslay seems to be but a transit-trade, for the latter Indians in their turn buy them from the tribes in the interior of the Chaco, probably from the Lenguas, who according to Mr. Grubb, make such necklaces. Mr. Grubb adds that »these strings of buttons are the money of the people» and that the value of a big necklace is one sheep.[1] As a matter of fact, the Choroti when bartering with the Ashluslay pay one sheep each for these necklaces.

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Of more interest are the commercial connections which the *Tobas* have with neighbouring tribes, especially with the Mataco-Nocténes in the west and the Avas in the north. At any rate there is frequent intercourse between the Bolivian Tobas and the Avas living at the Catholic missions Tarairi, Tihüipa, and Machareti. In connection with the visits which these Indians are in the habit of paying to the country of the Tobas, I had an excellent opportunity of studying primitive Indian trade. The

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[1] Grubb, *op. cit.*, p. 71.